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EASTERN

F.O.

371

1947

PALESTINE

File No. 100

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Reference:

FO 371/61857

**CLOSED
UNTIL**

1978

61857

1947

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PALESTINE

E 100

3 JAN 1947

2

Registry Number

E 100/100/31

FROM

Embassy

No.

Paris

Dated

1126

Received in Registry

(658/20/46)
26 Dec 1946
3 Jan 1947

Congressman Joseph Baldwin.
Encloses record of conversation between Mr. Mallett and Lord Curzon, of Embassy, Paris, and Joseph Baldwin, discussing Joseph Baldwin's recent visit to U.K. and Palestine. Gives summary of probable report Baldwin will take to U.S.

Last Paper.

(E 11915/11156/31)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

61857

(Minutes.)

I met Mr. Baldwin in London, and I should say that the Ambassador's judgment of him is accurate.

HAB 3/1

N. American Dept. ^{Jan 7/1}

Western Dept. ^{Jan 9/1}

(Action completed.)

[Signature] 10/1

(Index)

[Signature] 12/1

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Reference: FO 371/61857

E 100

(658/20/46)
No. 1126.

British Embassy,
Paris. 3 JAN 1947

26th December, 1946.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith the record of a conversation which Mr. Mallett of the Information Department of this Embassy and Lord Duncannon, my Private Secretary, had with Congressman Joseph Baldwin, who was in Paris recently for a few days on his return from Palestine to America. He stated that he had made his journey to Palestine at the request of the Republican Party with the approval of President Truman and the State Department. He would be reporting to all three on his return. He added that on his way out he had had talks with Mr. Attlee and with Mr. Morrison in London. He has now returned to England for a few days before leaving for Washington.

2. During Mr. Baldwin's nine-day stay in Palestine he seems to have been almost exclusively in the hands of the Zionists and heard little of the Arab case; and Mr. Mallett is to be congratulated on the efforts which he made (a very brief summary of which he records in the latter part of his note) to balance the opinion of the Congressman. I myself saw Mr. Baldwin whom I have known for some time. He called at the Embassy and denied vigorously that he had made the anti-British statements which have been attributed to him, and asserted that he had contradicted such reports. I attach no importance to his denials and shall be surprised if Mr. Mallett's arguments and facts produce much effect on his future utterances. He is a man who is always anxious to please the company in which he finds himself and he knows that an easy way of doing so in the United States of America is to abuse the British.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Duff Cooper

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
etc. etc. etc.

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Reference: **FO 371/61857**

With Lord Duncannon I had a long conversation with Mr. Joseph Baldwin, United States Congressman who was passing through Paris on his way back to the United States where he is to report on his visit to Palestine.

From our conversation it was clear that his mind was made up in favour of a Jewish State and in support of this view his report I sensed, would take the following line:

1. The English have exaggerated Arab feeling. The Arabs will not rise if a Jewish State is imposed on them in Palestine.
2. Nothing can stop now the Jewish State being formed sooner or later. The attitude of mind of the Jewish Terrorists is proof of this. Their determination will win in the end.
3. Palestine could easily absorb another 200,000 Jews.
4. Therefore the Jewish State should be set up at once. To calm Arab resentment, if it is to be feared, the United States should give a guarantee and credits to the Arabs. The guarantee would provide the Arabs with a court to which they would have recourse in the event of disputes over such questions as land. At the same time the financial credits would be offered to Palestine and Transjordan to enable the Arabs to build roads and railways and modernise and develop their industries.

Mr. Baldwin is extremely pro-British. Twice during the conversation he said "one Britisher is worth ten thousand Jews". He is sincerely worried at the harm being done to Anglo-American relations by the Palestine question and is prepared to sacrifice Jews and Arabs to safeguarding Anglo-United States relations.

It should be remembered also that he only spent 9 days in Palestine during most of which period he was treated by the Jews as a Very Important Person. He has also visited Germany and was impressed by the attitude of the Jews in camps there, all of whom he believes want to go to Palestine.

Unfortunately Mr. Baldwin was extremely tired after a long day travelling in France and although he was anxious to discuss the question it was difficult to defend British policy in any detail. He does not seem conscious of any difference between Zionism and Jewry as a whole. I was, able, however, to make the following general points which I believe are not generally appreciated in America.

- (1) Great Britain has carried out the mandate and has set up "A National Home" as was promised in the Balfour Declaration.
- (2) It is doubtful if a Jewish State in Palestine would do more than touch the fringe of the problem of the homeless Jews in Europe.
3. The Middle East was important to Great Britain. We had been following a consistent Arab policy for some years. We could not suddenly change that because of American criticism ; and what was good for us in the Middle East as a whole was good for America too since American interests in the Middle East had grown considerably during the war.

He also suggested the possibility of America calling a conference of Jews and Arabs with Great Britain in America. We also discussed the possibility of America using her influence to persuade the Zionists to agree to land elsewhere being used for colonies to relieve the pressure on Palestine - perhaps in the United States.

D. Mallett.
21st December, 1946.

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E 280 '5
9 JAN

'947

PALESTINE

Registry Number E286/100/31
FROM P.O.
No. Bommel.
Dated 9 Jan 1947
Received in Registry

Congressman Joseph Baldwin
Palestine tel 2222 of Dec 31. Inform Palestine Post has published cable from Baldwin to Yigal Zivi Leumi stating that he is now preparing his report to Pres Truman on findings during his recent visit, and appealing to Leumi to halt operations in the Holy Land at least until the Red Red opportunity to acquaint US govt. with your light

Last Paper.
100

(Minutes.)

N. Amman Dept. 7/1

References.

M: Baldwin with doubtless find fame & fortune awaiting him in his native land, which are probably the chief motivation for his activities in Palestine. From the sound of it his report may embarrass the President & is unlikely to find favour with the Z.O.A., but he should be sure to place beside Senator Gillette in the Revisionist Pantheon.

(Signature)
(signed) F. B. A. Rundall.
7/1

In P.P. P. Fine tel 40 7/1

(Action completed.)
GEM 23/1

(Index)
(Signature)
19/1

Next Paper.

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INWARD TELEGRAM

E 286

9 JAN

Cypher (O.T.P.)

FROM PALESTINE (Gen. Sir A. Cunningham)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 31st December, 1946.

R. 31st " " 18.00 hrs.

No. 2222 Secret.

Addressed to S. of S.
Repeated to H.M. Ambassador Washington, No. 164.

Your telegram No. 2331.

Visit of Baldwin.

Palestine Post and other newspapers have published a cable received from Baldwin for transmission to Irgun Zvai Leumi, stating that (?group omitted) is now preparing his report to President Truman and Congress and appealing to Irgun Zvai Leumi "to halt operations in the Holy Land at least until I have had the opportunity to acquaint the American Government and the people with your fight and the fight of Jewry at large". Cable as published continues "Please bear with me and remember my personal assurance to you that I will do everything in my power to present your point of view".

2. Letter has been handed to the American Consul General today expressing surprise at connection apparently made by Baldwin with Irgun Zvai Leumi, particularly in view of facilities granted for his visit, strongly deprecating transmission of such messages, especially through the medium of the Press, and expressing the hope that Baldwin will not in future address any advice to this group as to whether they should or not undertake terrorist operations in Palestine.

3. It was known that, during his visit, Baldwin did meet terrorist leaders. American Consul General also made it clear that he expected a protest.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. Beeley.
Private Secretary to Mr. Bevin.

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INWARD TELEGRAM,

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Cypher (O.T.P.)

E 286/100/31

FROM PALESTINE (O.A.G.)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 7th January, 1947.

R. 7th " " 16.00 hrs.

No. 40

Addressed to the S. of S.
Repeated to Washington No. 6.

My telegram No. 2222 of 31st December.

Baldwin.

Following item was excised from Hamashkif and Palestine Post newspapers by the Press Censor on 31st December. Begins.

"New York. Further reference is hereby made to cable of 27th December sent to Palestine Post for transmission to Irgun Commander. The Executive Board's authorisation to the Honourable Joseph Clark Baldwin appeal to halt operations was predicated upon there being being no provocation. The flogging administered to a 16 year old youth is a provocation. I am authorised to state that, had Irgun not retaliated to such a primitive and barbaric assault, we would have been greatly disappointed. Marcus M. Sherber, K.C., Montreal Member of the Executive Incorporated Board of the Political Action Committee for Palestine". Ends.

2. You may wish to invite the attention of the Canadian authorities to this statement.

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. Bealey.
Private Secretary to Mr. Bevin.

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E 930
29 JAN

1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number E930/100/31.

FROM Chancery

No. Washington

Dated 15/10/47.

Received in Registry } 24 Jan 1947
29 Jan 1947

Congressman Joseph Baldwin.
Refers Jerusalem Et 2222 of Dec 30 (286/100/31) re communications sent by Baldwin and Political Action Committee to the YKUN ZUMI KUMI. Informs Baldwin visited Ambassador in Jan 17 and left a copy of report of his visit (enclosed) also enclosed copy of minute by Balfour summarising Baldwin's conversation with Ambassador.

(Minutes.)

Last Paper.

286

References.

E 2741/2329/31

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

* P.O. Jerusalem and return Feb. 18

Returned 22. mar

I don't quite understand why the Ambassador abandoned his intention of taking Mr. Baldwin to task for his message to the I.Z.L. That at least hasn't been disavowed.

Mr. Baldwin's report, despite a number of absurdities, is not so bad as might have been expected. He does not seem, however, to be a careful listener. I certainly don't recognise my own views in his account of our meeting. More seriously, his report of what the Prime Minister said to him must be a long way from the truth.

- 1. N. American Paper ^{sent 3/2}
- 2. L.O. for Jerusalem and return.

H. Beeley 31/2

(Action completed.)

J.E.W. 1263

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[Handwritten initials]

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Reference: FO 371 61857

E 930

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

29 JAN

24th January 1947

280/100/31

Ref: 15/10/47

Dear Department,

Would you please refer to Jerusalem telegrams to the Secretary of State No. 2222 of 31st December and No. 40 of 7th January about the communications sent by Joseph Clark Baldwin and by the Political Action Committee for Palestine to the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

Baldwin came to see the Ambassador on 17th January and we enclose a copy of the report on his visit which he had then just left with the President, together with a minute by Balfour summarising Baldwin's conversation with the Ambassador. The Ambassador was proposing to take Baldwin seriously to task about his message to the I.Z.L. and also about various advertisements which were inserted in the United States press by his Committee during his absence, which spoke of the British crown being dipped in blood, and solicited aid for the "heroic Jewish Resistance".

As you will see from Balfour's minute, when confronted with the advertisements Mr. Baldwin categorically denied that he himself had had anything to do with their publication and added that they had been issued by one or two individual members of the Committee on their own initiative without even receiving the approval of the Committee as a whole. This is to some extent borne out by the fact that in a fairly complete

Eastern Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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summary of his report which appeared in the press on 19th January it is stated that Rabbi Korff, Co-chairman of the organization (who is noted for his extreme views) had issued a separate statement saying that, while he agreed with most of Baldwin's report, it compromised basic inalienable Jewish rights inside and outside Palestine. Baldwin told the Ambassador that he had forbidden the Political Action Committee for Palestine to issue any more advertisements.

The report itself is a more reasonable and balanced document than might have been expected, although its ideas for a settlement are those of an amateur who has injected himself into one of the thorniest of current political problems. You will no doubt be interested to read his account of his melodramatic visit to the leader of the I.Z.L. on Page 15 to 17. Baldwin asserted that his visit was prompted partly by his wish to inform himself of all aspects of the Palestine problem and partly by the thought that a dead Congressman - if anything happened to him - would be more likely to bring the United States into the Palestine picture than a live one. A wish to attract public notice and a seeking after adventure were no doubt also motives that prompted him to indulge in this escapade under the aegis of a bobby-soxer. Although he claims to have argued strongly against terrorism at this interview, the message to which Jerusalem telegram No. 2222 refers would not appear likely to have been taken as much of a discouragement by the I.Z.L.

Talking later to the press, Baldwin said

/that

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that the Ambassador approved of his suggestions for the future. This is of course not true and, after checking with us, most newspapers accordingly omitted the remark.

We are sending a copy of this letter to Jerusalem but unfortunately have no copy of the report available for them. As you will see, it is overlong for copying, but we are sending them the fairly full summary of it which was given in the New York Times.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

JD.

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Ex-Congressman Baldwin had luncheon today with the Ambassador and left with him a copy of the report which he had submitted to the President on his return from Palestine. Mr. Baldwin, when confronted with the advertisements published by the Political Action Committee for Palestine, of which he is Chairman, roundly denied that he had had anything to do with them and said that the views ascribed to him in these publications had been concocted without his authority and were a fabrication from start to finish. He said that he had been highly indignant at the appearance of these advertisements, and had repudiated them by telegram from London.

2. In the course of his talk with H.E., Mr. Baldwin referred to a number of the impressions gleaned during his visit to Palestine and recorded in his report, which he said had made a favourable impression on Mr. Truman, upon whom he had called earlier in the day. The main points to which Mr. Baldwin referred were as follows: He spoke enthusiastically of Mr. Grey, the Inspector General of the Palestine Police Force, and expressed his admiration of General Sir Alan Cunningham and of General Dale. He deplored the fact that General Barker should still be in supreme command in Palestine. (See also Page 8 of his report).

3. Mr. Baldwin thought it a mistake that the presence of our troops in Palestine should be represented to the inhabitants as due to the need for maintaining order and repressing terrorism, when in fact our occupation of the country was dictated by broad strategic considerations. He dwelt upon the fact that both Arabs and Jews

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are greatly preoccupied by the Russian menace. He himself considered that the Soviets were at present merely concerned to exploit the propaganda value of the disturbed conditions in Palestine.

4. Mr. Baldwin gave a graphic account of his visit in melodramatic circumstances to the leader of the Irgun, an explanation and description of which will be found on Pages 15 to 17 of the report. This individual, who was of Polish origin, had received him lying in bed and disguised with a false beard. Mr. Baldwin was at particular pains to emphasise that he had tried throughout the interview to impress upon him the futility of expecting any political results from terrorist action. At the same time Mr. Baldwin told H.E. that he had formed the impression that, however much leading Jews might deplore terrorist activities, the terrorists themselves could count on wide popular support, as was proved by the fact that both Jews and Arabs gave shelter to them after they had committed their outrages. (See also Page 14 of the report).

5. Mr. Baldwin touched on the four fallacies which he ascribes to British policy. (See Page 5 of his report). He laid particular stress on his impression that the Arab population in Palestine is primarily interested in physical, rather than political, considerations. (See Page 11 of his report). He was convinced on this account that the Arab would raise no objection to the plan for a Jewish state outlined on Pages 18 and 19 of his report,

/providing

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14.

providing as it did for the protection of the Arabs and their present land holdings in Palestine, which he claimed was the issue round which their interests were first and last centered.

J. BALFOUR
17th January 1947.

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FOR RELEASE
Sunday, January 19, 1947

FOR RELEASE
Sunday, January 19, 1947

P A L E S T I N E

A REPORT

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

and to

THE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE, INC.

Together with certain recommendations

by

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH CLARK BALDWIN

Administrative Chairman
Political Action Committee for Palestine, Inc.
104 West 70th Street
New York, 23, N.Y.

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I. FOREWORD

My mission to Palestine was primarily prompted by the conviction that the present situation in the Middle-East is fraught with danger to that Anglo-American friendship and unity of action for which I have worked so long and so hard and the maintenance of which I consider of paramount importance to the peace and prosperity of the world.

It is my opinion that the challenge to the world presented by the current problems in the Middle-East can no longer be met by Great Britain alone, and that the key to the solution thereof lies nearer to Washington than to London. This point of view will be enlarged upon and I hope convincingly explained in this report.

To those who believe in "One World," as I most fervently do, the possible creation of a new state in Palestine need present no paradox. Surely the strength of the United Nations must eventually depend not just on a few great powers, but on the peace, contentment, and prosperity of all the peoples. Our own American history has successfully demonstrated that only states secure in their sovereignty, and the contentment which ensues are strong enough to federate or unite eternally.

As to the conclusions I drew from my investigation of the problem presented by Palestine and the Middle-East generally, I should like to emphasize one important point, - they are not based on hasty decisions. While my actual tour of Palestine was limited to ten days - a self-imposed limitation promoted by previous experience that too long a stay offers temptations to interested groups to take possession of one, if not actually, at least in the public mind - my conferences in Washington and London, and my study of the problems presented covered a far longer period, actually running into many years, as the record will prove.

Finally, in submitting this report, I cannot let the occasion pass without expressing my profound gratitude to those individuals and organizations, both at home and abroad, who helped to make the report possible. First amongst these I want to thank the President of the United States, the Honorable Harry S. Truman, whose request that I report my findings to him personally permitted me to travel in an official capacity, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Honorable Clement R. Attlee, who received me cordially in London. The organization which conceived and initiated my survey on the basis of wide latitude - that I be free to report my findings independent of its objectives, is the Political Action Committee for Palestine, Inc., to whom I am deeply indebted for having financed my mission. I must add that its founder, Rabbi Baruch Korff, went out of his way to encourage an impartial investigation of fact. To the Britishers, Arabs, and Jews in Palestine who, together with the United States Consul, Mr. Lowell Pinkerton and his staff, made my stay in the Holy Land both pleasant and informative, go my especial thanks, as well as to my many friends in London and Paris who similarly cooperated.

Joseph Clark Baldwin

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II. PREAMBLE

Even the most casual student of current history realizes that there is a problem today in the Middle-East. To some it is a Jewish problem; to some it is an Arab problem; to some it is a British problem; to practically no one in this country except the Zionists it is in any sense an American problem.

This report is written in the conviction that the Middle-East generally, and Palestine specifically, do present a problem to the United States. In the first place, we now know - for if two World Wars in a quarter century haven't taught us, nothing ever will,--- that any trouble spot in the world cannot long be ignored with impunity. In the second place, there are natural resources in the Middle-East so vital to our own economy and to the preservation of our standard of living that we are already very deeply involved commercially. In the third place, a large section of our people are vitally interested in the problem on humanitarian grounds. And last, but by no means least, Anglo-American relations, the favorable maintenance of which is so important to the peace and prosperity of the world, are threatened by the political implications therein contained.

On the first score, surely nothing more need be said. On the second, it might be well to point out that our high American standard of living runs as surely on oil and rubber as that the Earth revolves around the sun; that the oil supply in our own country is not inexhaustible; that until some other medium is discovered and perfected, oil is essential to our economy; that except for the oil possessed by Russia either within her own boundaries or within the boundaries of neighboring states now under her sphere of influence, and except for some deposits in Central and South America, the future oil supply for the Western World will apparently come from the Middle-East. Nor can the humanitarian angle be ignored from an American interest point of view. Czechoslovakia stands today as a monument to the interest of the American people in the national aspirations of Minorities everywhere. Certainly a world presently controlled by Christian Nations must view with considerable horror and alarm the retention of hundreds of thousands of fellow human beings in the concentration camps built for them by the late enemy, where whole families of men, women and children, still live behind barbed wire in chambers 40 by 30 feet, with no privacy, little or no sanitation, and in groups of 250 to a chamber. But from the point of view of this report it is on the last score that emphasis has been placed. For without Anglo-American unity of action in the Middle-East, and everywhere else, what would be the fate of the political aspirations of any small nation, existing or proposed?

Actually, Palestine, the territory covered in this report, is about the size of the State of New York. Its present population, exclusive of aliens, consists of approximately one million Arabs and - officially - about 600,000 Jews, though it is possible that by now the Jewish population, through so-called "illegal" immigration, is close to a million.

Palestine was last independent over 2,000 years ago as a Jewish State, and, except for the spasmodic and partial rule of the Crusaders under the Baldwin dynasty, has only been independent as a Jewish State. That Arabs have lived there for 2,000 years in insignificant numbers cannot be denied. But they lived there under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire and were only freed from the Turks after the first World War, when Allied might under the late Lord Allenby - spearheaded by the Jewish Legion under the command of the late Vladimir Jabotinsky, with the aid of certain courageous Arab elements, set them free.

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It was then that the first independent Arab States were set up, which today total six, exclusive of Trans-Jordan, originally part of the British Mandate over Palestine. They are currently Syria, Lebanon, Yeman, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia and Egypt which was not under the Turkish rule, covering in area of over one million rather sparsely populated square miles, and which, together with Trans-Jordan, form the Arab League. With the exception of Syria and Lebanon, they are kingdoms, governed in somewhat dictatorial fashion, by former Emirs whose revenues are largely derived from oil concessions and pipe-line leases to Great Britain and the United States, as well as from almost total personal ownership of the nation's land.

The Arab League itself seems to be somewhat loosely united, except against any threat to Arab Supremacy in the Middle-East. On the Oriental side, its chief support apparently comes from Saudi-Arabia, and on the more modern side, from Syria and Lebanon where the graduates of the American University at Beirut are beginning to wield a very real and important influence.

That comparatively tiny Palestine, the biblical homeland of the Jews, more recently confirmed as such by international covenants and treaties, should become an issue in a Middle-East so obviously ample from a territorial point of view for all the Arabs in the area, is an astounding as well as a disturbing fact. But that it is an issue cannot be gainsaid; an issue presenting a problem and a consequent challenge to the world at large and more specifically, as has already been pointed out, to Great Britain and the United States.

The present cause of dissension in Palestine, and in the Middle-East over Palestine, dates back to 1929.

Immediately following the first world war when the Middle-East had been wrested from the Turkish Empire by the Allied Nations, it was felt that on practical and moral, as well as on historical grounds the Jews deserved a National home which should be in the Promised Land of biblical fame. By its creation, it was hoped there would be solved amongst other things many future problems which might arise as a result of oppressed Jewish Minorities in other lands.

On the basis of this guaranty of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, sponsored originally by Great Britain in the now famous Balfour Declaration (see appendix) England was given the Mandate over Palestine by the League of Nations. The Balfour Declaration was subsequently endorsed in substance by Emir Faisal Ibn Hussein, the then chief Arab leader, in the treaty of "Racial Kinship" of January 3, 1919, (see appendix) acknowledging the right of the Jews to Palestine, and was formally recognized by the United States in the Anglo-American Convention of December 3, 1924.

Slowly but surely, as a result of this British declaration and protection, a Jewish homeland was successfully developed in Palestine by Jewish pioneers who overcame almost insuperable physical obstacles in the process.

Then, at the most crucial moment in current Jewish history, when the Jews were being harried from both Western and Eastern Europe, Great Britain issued a series of "White Papers" which closed the doors of the Jewish homeland to the Jews, except for a pitiful monthly allotment, reduced successively by each "White Paper." This was explained by British and American statesmen as an attempt to keep the Arabs and their sympathizers in line for the impending world conflict. This policy, however,

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barely succeeded in keeping them neutral. Occupied by the actual outbreak of war in Europe, the nations of the world ignored this indirect, though none-the-less flagrant, violation of the terms of Britain's Mandate.

The issuance and the maintenance of the most recent and drastic of White Papers (that of 1939 - see appendix) is the root cause of all the trouble in Palestine today. It is the profound desire to contribute something constructive to an Anglo-American solution of the problem thereby presented, which inspires this report.

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III. REPORT:

A. London Conferences:

When the Political Action Committee for Palestine, Inc., decided to send a representative to the Middle-East to investigate the situation on the "spot", the President of the United States was consulted and the Committee's representative was asked to report directly to him. As a result, the Committee's representative traveled in an official capacity.

Reaching London in mid-November, 1946, the formal opening of Parliament caused a certain delay in the projected conferences with high British Officials; but finally, on Tuesday, November 19th, 1946, at 10:30 in the morning, he was received by and conferred with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, at 10 Downing Street. It was pointed out to the Prime Minister that the Palestine problem was rapidly becoming a very significant political issue in the United States, and that aside from the merits of the question, it was important to good Anglo-American relations that a solution be found as promptly as possible. The Prime Minister was both immediate and vehement in his response:

"The British Government is determined to find a satisfactory solution to this problem."

He expressed concern over the Zionists' failure to participate in the recent Anglo-Arab-Jewish conference in London, and said that he hoped that when it re-convened after the conclusion of the Zionist Congress at Basle, the Jews would consent to attend. He pointed out that the Arabs had presented their proposal, which was "not satisfactory," and added that "there is an empty niche for a Jewish proposal which must be filled before any sound discussion can take place."

The proposal of the Committee that the Jews in Palestine and the homeless Jews in Europe should be considered as an ethnopolitical entity in the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine was then presented and discussed. The Prime Minister seemed to be interested in the theory of a political majority which need not necessarily for a time be a residential majority and suggested that the proposal be presented to Mr. Bevin the British Foreign Minister should he return in time from New York.

X The Prime Minister then admitted that, sooner or later and in some form or other, the Balfour Declaration would have to be fulfilled and distinctly gave the impression that it was no longer a question of whether there should or should not be a Jewish State in Palestine, but when it should be created, what form it should take, and what its boundaries should be.

Although partition was not directly mentioned in this connection, it was so evidently implied, that the Committee's representative hastened to point out the opposition of American Jews to any solution which would confine the Hebrews to a mere fragment of their promised homeland and, in effect, merely create another ghetto along Eastern European lines.

The Prime Minister was swift in his assurance that whatever was done, so far as the British Government were concerned, there would be a very real attempt to carry out the purposes of the Balfour Declaration.

He then said that the whole problem would eventually have to be brought before the United Nations, but he was loath to come before them without a definite proposal. British withdrawal from the whole picture, unless the Jews consented to cooperate in finding a solution, was obviously in his mind.

The question of American participation was then brought

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up. On being assured that Washington might be persuaded to assume certain responsibilities in the Middle-East, the Prime Minister asked whether the United States would be prepared to use force if necessary.

The Committee's representative replied that American cooperation in a forceful decision might be obtained but that if it came to the actual use of arms, he was convinced the American people would never consent to a purely American Expeditionary force, but would insist on the use of the United Nations for such police functions.

Apparently, in the mind of the Prime Minister, as in that of almost every other Britisher with whom the Committee's representative conferred, the threat of an Arab uprising was paramount.

This was mentioned, and it was pointed out that such an attitude precluded any settlement except on Arab terms. This, however, the Prime Minister denied, explaining that the British Government had to be prepared for any eventuality and had a right to know on whom it could count, given certain eventualities.

It was then for the first time that the Committee's representative realized how much this British pre-occupation with Arab reaction might have to do with Zionist refusal to participate in any Arab-Jewish Conference under English auspices without certain advance guarantees, either by the British or by the United States.

The whole impression left by the Conference - an impression confirmed in subsequent conferences both in London and in Palestine - was that of a Government frankly perplexed by its conflicting obligations to the Arabs and the Jews; somewhat fearful of the consequences of any forthright decision one way or the other; and obviously tempted by the historic example of Solomon's judgment on the disputed parentage of the child.

2. The Lord President of the Council.

The next Conference was with the Right Honorable Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council. Inevitably, the so-called "Morrison Plan" for a partition of Palestine into two quasi-autonomous provinces, Hebrew and Arab, under a sort of federation on the top governmental plane, was brought up. Mr. Morrison said that when he presented the plan in Parliament he was speaking with the full authority of the Prime Minister, who was absent at the time.

The Committee's representative promptly pointed out that the suggested partition left to the Jews an area so small as to preclude the increased immigration essential to a real solution of the problem of the homeless Jews in Europe, and again stressed the view that American Jews would be strongly opposed, but added that, since by its introduction the British Government apparently recognized the necessity of creating some sort of a Jewish State in Palestine, there was an area for discussion, however insignificant that area might be.

The Lord President then asked what ideas the Committee had on the subject, and its representative then again presented the project of a Jewish Democracy embracing the biblical area of Palestine and including politically, though not necessarily residentially, the majority of the homeless Jews of Europe. Mr. Morrison seemed to feel that this idea was not so completely

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at variance with his own plan as to be incompatible, and it was pointed out to him that while, in a sense, it might only be a question of degree, that degree was vitally important, for the Jewish homeland promised in the Balfour Declaration was never intended to be limited to Jews already in Palestine as would be the inevitable result under his plan, but rather to provide a home for any oppressed or homeless Jews anywhere; otherwise it would be pointless. Mr. Morrison claimed his plan did not intend to be so limited.

The Lord President, like the Prime Minister, seemed eager to find a prompt solution to the Palestine problem, but equally loath to do anything which might "Arouse" the Arabs. He seemed to feel, somewhat bitterly, perhaps, that the whole question could have been equitable and easily solved by the preceding British Government during the early stages of the war. However, he very frankly admitted that his own Government could not indefinitely continue to "ride with the hounds and run with the hare;" his own expression, it might be added.

3. The Under-Sec'y. of State for Colonies.

All colonial affairs for the British Government, including Palestine, are in charge of the Under-Sec'y. of State for Colonies, presently Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, with whom the Committee's representative had his next conference. This was lengthy and enlightening. At one time Mr. Creech-Jones was an ardent advocate of Zionism, in Parliament. He gave the impression that he had not fundamentally changed his opinions.

Nevertheless his main concern seemed to be the possible Arab reaction to any decision and the importance of the whole Moslem World to the Empire. He pointed out that the recent war had proven to the Western World the importance of Empire security, a question which today "definitely affects the United States." He also wondered what Russia's reaction might be to British withdrawal from Palestine. His constitutional position being more administrative than policy making, this discussion was largely confined to Britain's actual handling of the present situation and the consequences which might arise therefrom; and he seemed genuinely concerned about the activities of the Jewish Underground, both as regards "illegal" immigration and "acts of violence."

"To threaten is the surest way to get the British back up," he said, and wished discussion of a solution could proceed in a calmer atmosphere. He, too, expressed the hope that the Jews would eventually participate in the Arab-Jewish Conference.

He explained at length the British Administration in Palestine, and emphasized the conviction of the Colonial office that the country could not presently absorb any large influx of Hebrew or any other kind of immigration, either economically or politically. He pointed out that the British public were slowly but surely becoming aroused over the piecemeal assassination of British soldiers innocent of anything but blind obedience to orders, and apparently felt that this could become a political obstacle to a fair and sound solution of the problem.

He seemed impressed by the Committee's proposal but, of course, was noncommittal. Other than administrative explanations, obviously of great help to the Committee's representative later on, his chief contribution to the general picture, was the flat statement that if the United States would agree to receive some of the homeless Jews now in concentration camps in Europe, it would be far easier to solve the local

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problem. Pressed for an explanation, he said that the chief fear of the Arabs and in turn of the Colonial Office was that the granting of any original immigration demands would lead to further demands which could not practicably be granted.

Unquestionably, the Colonial Office feels that in due time some sort of Jewish State will be created in Palestine. But unquestionably also, this conviction is subordinated to the much wider Moslem problem facing the Empire,

On the query of how Empire security could be jeopardized by the creation of a Jewish Democracy in Palestine, Mr. Creech-Jones replied that it was more a problem of how such a Democracy could be fitted into the general picture of the Middle-East. He pointed out that if Palestine were on one side of the Suez Canal, Egypt was on the other. To which the obvious rejoinder was made: that Britain was even now terminating her occupation of Egypt.

Further discussion centered on the personalities of those presently representing the Colonial Office in Palestine.

As to Colonial Office policy there, in particular, and British Middle-East policy in general, it was only after his arrival in Palestine that the Committee's representative believed he discovered the real reasons for them, - all of which will subsequently be taken up in this report.

4. The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

At two separate luncheons, the Committee's representative discussed his mission with a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and its British Secretary. The Pigeon-holing of the Committee's report, which at least had the merit of official American participation, apparently gave them a prejudiced approach to any further discussion of the problem, and at least one of them, Mr. R. E. Manningham-Buller, saw no possible satisfactory solution. The other, Mr. H. Beeley was more hopeful, though he too felt an opportunity had been missed. Indeed Parliamentary opinion in general regretted that the report had not been followed up, irrespective of its merits, on the theory that it did, after all, represent Anglo-American opinion and could be reasonably used to obtain further American participation. Everything said, however, confirmed impressions obtained at previous conferences. If these luncheons are mentioned here at all, it is merely to emphasize the fact that all shades of British opinion were sought by the Committee's representative, and discussion of the report and its "whys" and "wherefores" was inevitably informative on a factual basis. Actually, the report itself, which was lengthy and painstakingly compiled offered no decisive or clear-cut solution.

It might be interesting to note that the luncheon with Mr. Beeley was given by Mr. Lewis Jones, member of our American Embassy Staff charged with Middle-East matters, who, throughout the London visit of the Committee's representative, was most helpful and cooperative.

5. Parliamentary Opinion

Mention has already been made of parliamentary opinion on the Jewish question and perhaps it would be well to enlarge on the subject. The Committee's representative conferred at various times during his visit approximately with fifty members of the House of Commons, representing both parties and all shades of opinion. Many of them were old friends of the Committee's representative, and some of them had been extremely helpful to

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him on previous missions. While good taste precludes the mention of all of their names, given the private nature of most of the conversations, two at least must be mentioned in grateful recognition of their constructive help: Capt. L.D. Gammans and Lord Hinchingbroke, heir to the Earl of Sandwich. Each of these friends, in a sort of "amicus curiae" position, arranged for any number of meetings with his colleagues.

The attitude of Parliament seemed to be one of bewilderment, bitterness and benignity. Bewilderment because they cannot grasp the Government's program, if any; bitterness, because of the apparently unnecessary loss of both British lives and prestige; benignity, because they sincerely want to fulfill their obligations under the Balfour Declaration and are convinced that a forthright and forceful decision in this connection should and could be made with benefit to all concerned. If this sums up to criticism of the Government then it is criticism of the Government; which, incidentally is sure to grow in volume.

Not one member approached, seemed seriously concerned about an Arab uprising under the circumstances, although every such member apparently believed a Jewish State inevitable. Some of them felt Great Britain would throw the whole business into the lap of the United Nations forthwith, and be done with it!

B. Palestine

1. The British Point of View:

In Palestine itself the British point of view seems to be a mixture of legalistic determination under the White Papers and moral obligation under the Balfour Declaration; not a very consistent program. Generally speaking, local British policy is apparently based on what the Committee's representative is convinced are four fallacies. First, that if a decision in Palestine is made ostensibly in favor of the Jews, the Arabs will rise. Second, that the Jewish Underground is a minority group of violent extremists, frowned upon by the mass of the population. Third, that the country is presently incapable of absorbing any increase in population. Fourth, that Russia will surely rush in where Britain fails to tread. It will be the purpose of this report to attempt to prove each of these arguments unfounded.

In the meantime, local conditions and general prospects for a solution are in no way improved by the retention, as overall military commander, of a man, who, having got his wind up over the destruction of the King David Hotel, so far forgot his mission and the best interests of his country, as to vilify the whole Jewish population, which presumably he had been sent out to protect quite as much as the rest of the population of Palestine.

Travelling north from Jerusalem, where Supreme British Army Headquarters is located, to Haifa, militarily administered by General Gale, one is almost startled by the change in the attitude of the population and, correspondingly, of the military. At least ninety per cent of the so-called terrorist incidents occur in the Jerusalem - Tel-Aviv area. Indeed, the Committee's representative was subjected to a horrid evening of them in Jerusalem - while comparatively none occur in the area administered by General Gale. The Committee's representative conferred at length with General Gale in Haifa, and was deeply impressed with his approach to the whole problem and the evident respect in which he was held by the local population, both Jewish and Arab.

2. Colonial:

Far more significant from a political point of view is the attitude of the representatives of the Colonial Office, who,

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together with the High Commissioner, represent the Crown, and are, in fact, the real Governors of Palestine. Obviously policy is being carried out under Home Government instructions. But it is very doubtful whether these instructions are always based on sound advice from the scene of action. There is an evident attempt on the part of the Civil Servants in the lower category, who are inevitably closest to the picture, to arrange the situation to fit policy, rather than to arrange policy to fit the situation. It can even be suspected that certain Arab flare-backs are prompted from without, by design, rather than from within by desire. Certainly the argument that the Arabs and the Jews cannot and will not get along together is belied by even a casual investigation of the facts. *du magno passim.*

The Palestine Police Force, for instance, which is commanded and administered by the British under an English Inspector General, W. Nicoll Grey, whose heroism, tact and ability is an inspiration to anyone coming in contact with him, has the complete confidence of the general public. Yet it is formed of a mixture of Arabs and Jews. In one station you will find an Arab sergeant commanding Jewish privates; in another a Jewish sergeant commanding Arab privates; and in still another a conglomeration of the two; all functioning happily and efficiently together. Likewise, two Citrus Growers Association consists of a Board of Directors evenly divided between Jews and Arabs, which functions effectively and amicably; and there are many more examples of the same sort. In other words, deprived (sic) of political instigation, the Arabs and the Jews do get along.

That certain of the Arab chieftains, or Effendis, are suspicious or resentful of the improved standard of living of the masses resulting from the advent of the Jews, cannot be gainsaid. But certainly the day has passed when within Palestine itself any local tribal chief or political leader can cause serious trouble, or, at least, trouble that cannot be localized and speedily and successfully controlled.

The machinations of some of the members of the Colonial Office in this connection has already been mentioned. But the justification of policy prompted by unsound advice from the scene of action cannot be entirely confined to the lower brackets. The splendid members of the Army or bodyguard of King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, Arabs every one of them, equipped, trained and armed by the British, individually and as units move freely through present day Palestinian territory, and are, in fact, occasionally used for police or military purposes there. Could one conceive of a more provocative situation? Even the British residents are embarrassed and apologize for what they claim is a mistake.

The Committee's representative conferred on all these matters with responsible local British officials, beginning with his Excellency, the British High Commissioner, Lieut. Gen. Sir Alan Cr. Cunningham, who is the direct representative of the Crown. Sir Alan is typical of the British Overseas statesman who is sincerely attempting to carry out difficult instructions with tact and ability. His breadth of vision and his desire to acquit himself well, not just with his Government, but with the people he had been sent out to govern, was deeply impressive. He, too, however, talked about the Arab problem, although in a far more rational vein than some of those who had discussed it at a distance. He felt, for instance, that if the Jews and Arabs were left to their own devices, the Jews would hold the upper hand initially, but the Arabs would eventually overwhelm them. He asked if the Committee's representative was going to see any Arab leaders, - even suggesting one - eventually conferred with, it might be added, - and hoped that their story as well as that of the Jews would be told to the American people. He was also anxious that a visit be made to various of the cooperative and collective farms run by the Jews as pioneer units, and particularly

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mentioned one near the Dead Sea, as an outstanding example. Here the salt had to be drained out of the land before any crops could be grown. He pointed out that while this was too expensive a process to be generally applied, he knew of no other place where the courage, ingenuity, and infinite patience of the Jewish pioneers was better demonstrated. These facts were later confirmed by personal inspection.

Another local official conferred with at length was Sir Henry Gurney, the Secretary. Sir Henry is the direct representative of the Colonial Office in Palestine. The conference was largely a repetition of previous conversations with other officials, locally and in London, although it is clear that he has a far more realistic grasp of the situation than his superiors in London. He was helpful as to information of a fact-finding sort, but apparently had the universal Colonial Office prejudice in favor of the Arabs. In this connection, it might be well to point out a possible explanation of this widespread British attitude. It is obviously far easier and simpler to deal with local Arab Chieftains who control the local population as dictators, than to deal more clumsily with any group formed along democratic and representative lines, such as is set up by the Jews. Some, at least, of the British local officials openly feel this way.

C. Commercial:

Of course, the whole question of Statehood for the Jews, the Arabs, or a combination of the two cannot be divorced from the ability of the area independently to support its population. It is widely maintained and generally assumed that Palestine is a purely agricultural state, with consequent population limits. While this may be more or less true today, it need by no means be true in the future. Jewish pioneering in Palestine along industrial and commercial lines has been quite as impressive as along agricultural lines, although perhaps not quite as dramatic. This has been deliberate Jewish policy, for it is obvious that no large increase in Palestinian population so essential to the creation of an adequate homeland for the homeless Jews in Europe can be based on agriculture alone.

Whether the Mandatory Power, aware of the native genius of the Hebrew along commercial lines, is loath to promote a possible local competitor to Empire goods, or whether this particular endeavor on the part of the Jews in Palestine is not yet taken seriously, the fact remains that every possible hindrance is placed in the path of industrial development in Palestine. The impossibility of obtaining dollars to purchase badly needed equipment and machinery, lack of adequate transportation facilities, and exceptionally high taxes are just a few of the hindrances?? which might be mentioned.

There has been some talk of damming the River Jordan and the creation of an operating corporation like the Tennessee Valley Authority in America, which would provide cheap power for industrial expansion and agricultural irrigation purposes. So far, this has remained in the realm of discussion. It is said that the neighboring Arab States would refuse to cooperate and that Jew, Moslem and Christian would vigorously oppose any such "desecration" of the holy waters of the Jordan. It is the Committee's representative's firm opinion that these objections are largely legendary, and that a serious study should be made of the industrial possibilities in this regard. At a subsequent point in this report, the industrial situation in Palestine will be gone into more fully. Suffice it to say here that, despite ~~the~~ ^{the fact that} the Mandatory Power apparently confines its interest in the commercial sphere to the possibility of marketing British goods, infant industries under Jewish guidance are springing up all over Palestine.

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D. Military:

For many years the presence of British Arms in Palestine was symbolic of Jewish freedom. Not even the most rabid Jewish Anglophobe can deny that British troops saved the day when, some years ago, disreputable politicians incited serious Arab riots against the Jews. Nor can he deny that English sympathy and English protection were entirely responsible for the original opening of the biblical promised land to the Jews.

If the picture has changed today, if the mass of the Jewish population in Palestine look upon the British troops there as an enemy occupying force, it is probably because the Jews, ninety-nine per cent of whom have had one or more members of their family or friends tortured or wantonly slain in Europe, consider British refusal to open the promised homeland to the homeless when they need it most, as an act openly inimical to the Jews, and because the impingement of this local and, to them, hideous, policy on the wider Empire policy of security has not been understood or possibly even properly explained.

In any event, the current military situation in Palestine is obviously an intolerable one from both the Jewish and the British point of view. The verbal attack of the British Military Commander on all Jews indiscriminately, and his promulgation of orders forbidding the troops under his command to have anything whatsoever to do with the Jewish population hastened, if it did not actually bring about, popular conviction that Great Britain was now anti-Jewish and that the Balfour Declaration had become just another one of those "scraps of paper."

On the other hand the British troops themselves, merely carrying out orders, feel themselves the innocent victims of policy and apparently view their current duties with considerable distaste except for those whom local incidents have imbued with a dangerous hatred for the Hebrews. Certainly the Army is not to blame for the situation. The danger, as always in such situations, is the possible frustration of high minds by hot heads and the high-handed action which so often ensues.

The British have to keep troops in Palestine for obvious reasons of Middle-East security. The Jews, in their current desperation, too frequently forget this extremely important fact. Should present British public pressure force their withdrawal before some satisfactory formula for substitution be found, it would probably be as sorry a day for the Jews in Palestine as for anyone else. It is unfortunate that a better public relations job on this score has not been done by the British in Palestine.

2. The Jewish Agency

a. Political

The Jewish Agency in Palestine is in a quasi-governmental position. It was set up by the British, under the Balfour Declaration, to supervise the creation of the promised Jewish homeland. It functions not only under, but to the best of its ability, with the Mandatory Power in administering the State. Its principal though limited function is as a sort of land-holding corporation administering Jewish funds for the purchase and maintenance of agricultural properties. As the only Jewish organization recognized locally by the British for handling Jewish matters, it has a great deal of influence with the Jewish population, although lately, for reasons which will become obvious, it has lost some of its local prestige.

The Committee's representative conferred at length with its acting president, (the President was attending

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the Zionist Congress at Basle) and with the Agency's brilliant fiscal agent. Publicly, the Jewish Agency supports the British policy in Palestine. Privately, it admits to a state of undeclared war and does everything possible to facilitate the entry into Palestine of the homeless Jews in Europe. It maintains that under the Balfour Declaration and the implied, if not the actual terms of the Mandate, the British have no right to prevent the immigration of these people. At one point, the British summarily arrested and threw into a local concentration camp all the top-flight officials of the Agency, and some of the minor ones. While they were eventually released, the occasion marked the end of any real cooperation between the Agency and the Mandatory Power.

The Committee's representative came away with a very favorable impression of the courageous and exemplary policy of this organization. The administrators are fearful of jeopardizing what small hold for a homeland the Jews have already obtained in Palestine by any open quarrel with the British, but this has by no means dissipated their loyalties or warped their judgment, and the best that can be said for their present relations with the local government is that it consists of a sort of armed truce.

Thanks to the cooperation of the Agency, it was possible to inspect not only many of their own projects, but many others as well.

b. Agricultural

The principal projects of interest to a student of modern Palestine are agricultural, for here all the outstanding qualities of the Jew as a pioneer are in evidence. These consist largely of land units purchased by or through the Jewish National Fund and directly or indirectly administered by the Agency, as land developments for purely agricultural purposes. They are both cooperatives or "colonies", involving individual ownership which shares certain projects and equipment; collectives, which are communal but in no sense communistic, for the profit motive is enthusiastically recognized; and farms, which are comparatively large holdings operated and owned individually. Several of each kind were visited by the Committee's representative, including the "collective" near the Dead Sea, mentioned by Sir Alan Cunningham. The type of men and women engaged in these projects is of the highest, and their pioneering spirit, reminiscent of the early days of America's West, is both moving and inspiring; for these undertakings are by no means without hazard, in lonely countryside where frequently brigands and robber bands wander.

The produce from these projects is either marketed cooperatively or consumed on the premises, or both. Fruit, wheat and vegetables are grown, and generally dairy and beef herds maintained. A unique angle of farming in this connection, at least to the Committee's representative, was the existence on several of these projects of "fish farms" consisting of a series of artificial pools in which native fish were bred and kept for periodic disposal in the market as well as for home consumption. It is said that this is a very lucrative enterprise in the inland areas and is further tribute to the genius of the Jewish pioneer.

The cradle of this agricultural success in Palestine is probably the Weizmann Chemical Foundation and the adjoining Agricultural Station. They were both visited by the Committee's representative. The Foundation is constantly experimenting among many other things, of course, and contributing steadily to local fertilizer possibilities. It is largely on guard against animal and human diseases, and provides valuable and authoritative information in this regard, as a result of its experiments.

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The Agricultural Station, which is beautifully equipped and capably managed along the lines of similar stations in America, studies the soil of various localities in Palestine and maintains nurseries for the study of both citrus and general agricultural produce as well as for forestation and reforestation.

Palestine is a large citrus fruit country, and the Arabs and Jews have cooperated most impressively in developing its agricultural possibilities. The Committee's representative visited several large orange and banana plantations and, on a visit to Tel-Aviv, saw hundreds of thousands of crates of oranges being loaded for shipment abroad. This business alone in Palestine runs into many millions of dollars in gross turn-over, and is capable of employing thousands of Jewish immigrants.

Another product of the country which comes under the head of both agriculture and industry is wine, in which again there is a large and lucrative financial turn-over and vast employment possibilities. The industry was originally started by Baron Edmond de Rothschild in the early part of the century. The Committee's representative visited one of the principal wineries and is able to vouch for the importance of the enterprise and the excellence of the product.

c. Industrial

At least one of the industrial developments of Palestine has prospered with government support. This is the phosphate plant on the Dead Sea, one of the largest phosphate producing units in the world. The Dead Sea of immortal biblical fame, is, it might be pointed out here, 1292 feet below sea level! In summer the atmosphere is almost intolerable. Yet here again the intrepid Jewish pioneer has established a successful project. The war, of course, made its product invaluable. Today it is principally controlled by the British Government, although the land belongs to the Jews; is only held in trust by the British; and under an outstanding agreement, based on payments made and to be made, is eventually to be returned to its Jewish owners.

Another Palestinian product geologically present is cement, a large plant for its production is near Haifa. Incidentally, close by is a prosperous farm unit, - further proof of the courage and ingenuity of the Jewish pioneer, who created out of desert soil a veritable garden of Eden. This, too, is owned by the British.

The Committee's representative visited both the phosphate and cement projects as well as the farm unit just mentioned.

Besides these two important industries, there are being developed, as has been pointed out, many other industrial projects. A morning was spent in Tel-Aviv, with the President of the Manufacturers' Association of Palestine, visiting the Industrial Exhibit there. The Exhibit tells a story of courage and of genius which is epic in itself. Light industries have been developed covering almost every line of household and small plant equipment as well as wearing apparel, including shoes and leather goods generally. A conference was also held with the officials of the General Federation of Labor and later with the labor organization of the Orthodox Jews.

Labor itself owns and operates two of the largest industrial plants in Palestine. One is a steel plant and the other is a glass works, both at Haifa. Both were inspected, and subsequently an evening was spent with the chief engineer of the steel mill in his home discussing the problems and possibilities of his project.

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The housing projects of the City of Tel-Aviv and the infant but thriving shipyard there, were also visited.

It is the sincere opinion of the Committee's representative that lucrative industrial expansion employing hundreds of thousands of people would result overnight were any modicum of economic freedom given to the local industrialists.

d. Health and Sanitation

The whole question of health and sanitation in the Jewish community is well handled by the Vaad Leumi or Jewish National Council. There is one project in this connection, however, without which no report on Palestine would be complete. That is the Hadassah Hospital built and largely maintained by the Hadassah Organization of Jewish Women in America. The hospital is modern, beautiful, and complete. Its wide windows, facing on flower-massed courts, overlook the hills of biblical fame and the distant Dead Sea. Its particular significance in this report, aside from well-deserved tribute to the doctors and nurses who staff it, and the generosity of the American women who made it possible, is to point out that here again Arab and Jew live together in peace and contentment. Much of the time, there are as many Arab patients as Jewish, and always there is a large percentage of Arabs in the wards. It is significant to note in this connection that today even the local Arab Chieftains, or Effendis, send their wives, of whom they each have several, to Hadassah Hospital to have their children!

On the educational side, primary schools are maintained in every center and in most of the projects. Adjoining Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus, with the same view over the "everlasting hills" and the Dead Sea, is the great Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Its library contains a priceless collection of Hebrew manuscripts and literature dating back to the dim past. Students from all over the world are enrolled, including American soldiers, under the "G. I." Bill of Rights.

3. The Arab Point of View:

a. Within Palestine

Generally speaking, the Committee's representative got the impression that the Arab problem within Palestine is physical rather than political; for it is the increased standard of living throughout Palestine resulting from Jewish initiative and enterprise which has clipped the wings of the old-fashioned Arab Chieftains, more inclined to think of their employees as serfs than as human beings, and now genuinely troubled about their own future. Nor has the more modern Arab landowner been untouched by this situation. On the one hand, Arab workers have already formed a labor organization which demands better standards; and on the other hand, the increased value of his land is a constant and too often irresistible temptation to strip himself of his very means of livelihood. As a result, the Arab apparently entertains a very real fear of being crowded out of the land by his neighbors. Indeed a paradox!

In the meantime, in an attempt to maintain some semblance of the status quo, the Government has divided the whole of Palestine into zones restricted and unrestricted for purposes of land purchase, as the case may be (see Appendix). It is the belief of the Committee's representative that this zoning tends to divide the Arabs and the Jews rather than to accomplish its protective purposes.

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Several of the younger and Westernized Arabs conferred with, who had been educated either at the American University at Beirut or abroad, maintained that Palestine should be an Arab State on the theory that the land had been occupied by the Arabs for many hundreds of years. This fact is constantly being pointed out by the Arabs without mentioning the further fact that this particular Arab tenure had been under the political domination of the Turks, a yoke only removed by Allied arms in the first World War. In addition, Palestine in all its history has never been ruled by the Arabs.

Everybody seems to have been 'interested' in this!

A morning was also spent conferring with one of the leading Arabs of Palestine, Dr. Hkaldi, President of the superb Arab College in Jerusalem, and brother of one of the leading members of the Arab Committee in Palestine. He made a strong presentation of the Arab case, and their right to remain a political majority in the land they had occupied for so long. He seemed very much interested, however, in the Committee's proposal, particularly the theory of a non-resident political majority, confirming the impression of physical rather than political concern. He was particularly bitter over the fact that so much of the vast, and admitted, accomplishments of the Jews had been made possible by money from abroad while the Arabs had to "start from scratch." When it was pointed out to him that untold foreign funds were passing into Arab hands for oil leases, he avoided the issue by saying that this money did not come into Palestine. So completely westernized in dress and conversation, and so definitely cosmopolitan in his approach that he could easily be taken for an Englishman or an American, he nevertheless argues that in spite of the admitted improvements brought by the Jews, the Arab should be permitted to scratch dead soil should he so desire!

b. Outside Palestine:

By contrast the most vigorous exponent of modernizing the Middle-East, and consequently the Arab, came from a living symbol of the past, King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan, son of the famous Emir Feisal Ibn Hussein, and one of the leaders of the revolt against the Turks who refused any sort of compromise. The Committee's representative lunched with him at his summer villa in Trans-Jordan, and was deeply impressed with the brilliance as well as the subtleties of his definitely inquiring mind. His chief concern seemed to be that whatever was decided about Palestine, the United States should recognize Trans-Jordan and his regime there. This, of course, could be an important bargaining point, should the powers recognize the separation of Trans-Jordan, which is part of Palestine under the Mandate. However, the King was by no means entirely egotistical in the interview. He dwelt at length on the possibilities in the Middle-East and the importance of modernizing it with American help and money, which he was sure would be returned many times over and prove the soundest of investments both financially and politically.

Of course the point of view of the Arab League, of which Trans-Jordan is a member, and which purports to represent the Arabs outside Palestine, is frankly political. It is the opinion of the Committee's representative that the chief support of the Arab League, other than that provided by Great Britain which created it, comes on the one hand from the students already mentioned who are keen to modernize the Middle-East, and on the other from Saudi Arabia for purely oriental purposes. It is not the intention of this report to belittle or ignore the aims and ambitions of any of the Middle-Eastern States. On the contrary, given the above stated conviction that the Middle-East can only be considered as a whole, the Committee's representative is fully persuaded that American financial and commercial participation in the development of the Middle-East is of paramount importance and shall so shortly recommend.

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4. The Jewish Point of View:

a. Within Palestine

The Jewish point of view within Palestine is an absolutely forthright one. The Jews in Palestine are not only in favor of creating a Palestinian democracy with a Jewish majority, but are actively engaged in promoting it both through the Underground, of which more later, and through their agricultural, political, and industrial activities.

While the Jewish Agency itself, as has been already pointed out, is extremely reserved on this score, due to its quasi-governmental position; and while the Jewish population lives not only under the rule of the Mandatory Power, but under the extremely watchful eye of the Mandatory Power's Army; both are one hundred per cent active in promoting the Jewish State in question.

The better part of a morning was spent with the Chief Rabbi of Palestine, Rabbi Izaac Herzog, who summed this situation up as effectively and as eloquently as it probably could be put. Having spent ten years in Ireland as spiritual head of the Jews there, he speaks fluent English with such a pronounced Irish brogue that the effect, under the circumstances, is dramatic to say the least. He was one of the most sincere and inspiring men the Committee's representative met on his mission. His parting words were:

"This is our historical homeland. We are not really wanted anywhere else. At least give us a chance to fulfill our destiny here."

b. Outside Palestine:

Outside of Palestine, whether in America, England, France, or anywhere else in the Western World, the Committee's representative, who has for many years been a student of this problem, finds mixed feelings on the question of Palestine, amongst certain of the Jews. These Jews, however, who for one reason or another appear more or less opposed to the Zionist cause in Palestine, are in a minority. The records show that the mass of the Jews everywhere are ardent Zionists. Nothing could be further from the mind of the author of this report than to present any solution which would involve in any way the nationals of any country who might be incidentally of the Jewish faith but who by birth or adoption have their roots deep in the soil of lands other than Palestine. In this day and age the proposal of a theocracy anywhere would be abhorrent and, for that matter, inadmissible. Nor do the Zionists seek any such thing. Those of the Jewish faith who are in fact British, American, French or citizens of any other country need have no part in any Palestine proposal except insofar as their individual kinship, interest, or generosity prompts them to contribute thereto as Americans of Czech, Polish, or Irish extraction, for example, contributed to the re-creation of their former homelands.

The very use of the words "homeland for the Jews" bespeaks homeless Jews, and whatever is said or proposed in this report regarding Palestine is based on that premise. The writer has found many of the Jewish faith in other countries disturbed by the thought of the creation of any state which might by implication differentiate them from their fellow citizens. It would be well to point out here and now that the creation of a free State in Ireland with a Catholic majority, or in Czechoslovakia or in Poland in no way involved the nationals of other countries of Irish, Czech, or Polish origin except in so far as they, themselves, chose to be involved.

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If this point is mentioned at all in this report it is because the importance of obtaining world support under the United Nations for the creation of this homeland for the Jews in Palestine involves inevitably at least the moral support of the peoples of the world, whatever their race or creed who function on such matters through the United Nations.

5. Summary

That the aim of both the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine is the creation of an independent Palestinian democracy is now a matter of public record. Of course the Arabs want such a State controlled by the Arabs, and the Jews want it controlled by the Jews. But the desire for an independent Palestine is common to both groups. More significant as a local common denominator, however, is the complete unanimity of both groups in their fear of communism and their determination to avoid more than formal relations with any state advocating such a political philosophy.

Nothing could be more alien to the Arab way of life, with its deep-rooted feudal customs and its local recognition of somewhat dictatorial chieftains than the communist system. As for the Jews in Palestine, too many of them were hounded from their original homes in Eastern Europe by powers politically communistic for them to welcome even the semblance of such a system in their new homeland.

This universal attitude in Palestine must be taken into consideration in an attempt to arrive at any solution of the Middle-East problem.

C. The Underground or Resistance Movement

1. Their relation to the public:

The so-called Underground or Resistance Movement in Palestine has been variously described as "a small band of sincere patriots," "a misguided group of die-hards," "a handful of bandits and assassins who feel that the current unrest gives them license to do anything", and "a collection of aliens who are only interested in power for themselves," to mention a few of the terms applied. None of these things are true. The Underground Movement in Palestine, in its several groupings, consists directly or indirectly of the majority of the people in Palestine; and that, perforce, includes the Arabs. It should not be inferred from this statement that all Palestinians are actually members of one or the other of these "resistance" groups, but it is a fact that the mass of the population support these Underground activities in their various categories.

2. Their Organization

a. The Haganah

Theoretically, there are three resistance or underground movements, although one is quite open in its purposes and in most of its activities and actually embraces in its membership the members of the other two. The first and parent organization, is the Haganah. It was originally founded as a sort of "Homeguard" for protection against the inevitable hazards of pioneering, such as pillage and robbery, but more recently has been active in promoting so-called "illegal" Jewish immigration. Once only has it allegedly resorted to violence, and that was in blowing up the bridge across the River Jordan as symbolic of Jewish disapproval of the Mandatory in dividing Palestine into two separate states. Practically every Jew in Palestine is a member of the Haganah, including, as has been said, those who are members of the other two groups.

a strange choice of symbols.

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b. The Irgun

The second is the Irgun Zvai Leumi, a group of patriots, which, under the leadership of David Raziel, split from the Haganah in order to take a more positive part in the creation of the Jewish homeland, and which currently destroys military installations, but avoids bloodshed, wherever possible. Its membership consists of approximately 20,000 able-bodied young Jewish men and women definitely organized along military lines.

c. The F.F.I. or "Stern" Group

The third is the F.F.I. (Fighters for Freedom of Israel), more popularly known as the "Stern" group, because of the name of its founder, Abraham Stern, who led a group of Zealots in a break from the Irgun, because the latter swore allegiance to the British during the recent war. It frankly believes in bloodshed and assassination as the only way to bring the current situation forcibly home, not only to the Mandatory Power but to the world at large. It consists of about 2000 young Jewish fanatics. Incidentally, the founder, Stern, is no longer alive. He was killed in 1941 when his home was entered by a British Captain and Lieutenant and two British soldiers, and one of the officers, firing into a closet where he was hiding, killed him.

As the author of this report has mentioned before and now repeats, it is his most earnest conviction that these three movements, separately and collectively, are widely supported by the population, both Jewish and Arab, and that they are slowly but surely forcing the British Military in Palestine out of the position of a friendly force and into the position of an enemy occupying Army; at least in the public mind. There can be no other explanation of the failure of the British to apprehend any of either the instigators or actual perpetrators of current acts of violence. Likewise, it is well known that the so-called robberies of institutions to obtain funds are collusive and only items heavily insured are taken.

3. Visit to Irgun Commander

The Committee's representative spent the better part of an afternoon with Menahem Beigen, the head of one of these organizations, the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Although he has two "stand-ins", who apparently so resemble him as to be indistinguishable one from another and either from him, subsequent events have proven beyond peradventure of a doubt that Menahem Beigen was the man interviewed. He is a saintly looking, calm, and extremely soft-spoken man with an evident distaste for bloodshed. The portrait of a zealot, there is no question that he is a sincere patriot.

The author of this report, who has expressed himself both publicly and privately as opposed to violence in the current situation in Palestine, went to this conference in some trepidation, but came out, if not in approval of the Movement, certainly impressed by the sincerity of its motives and the motives of its leader. The circumstances leading up to this interview were themselves so dramatic and significant of the present Palestinian picture as to warrant a brief review in this report.

Having personally no contact with the Underground except through the local press, this medium was successfully employed for publicizing the desire for a rendezvous. Breakfasting in his hotel room one morning, the Committee's representative was called on the telephone by a young woman:

"I will see you"
"Who is this talking?"
"You will not know."

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On the realization that this might be the sought-for Underground contact, the young woman was directed to come to the room.

It was only then that the thought of possible personal violence occurred. After all, a dead congressman might be a surer way of bringing the United States into the picture than a live one of persuading them. So the door was opened cautiously and when a bunch of flowers, the traditional cover for assassination weapons appeared, the door was very nearly slammed shut. Fortunately the flowers were promptly followed by a young girl of sixteen or seventeen, literally a "bobby-soxer."

"You will see my chief?"

"Who is your Chief?"

"The head of the Irgun."

"Yes, I would like very much to see him."

"Then you will be in the lobby at 2:30

this afternoon. You will ask no questions. You will be gone six hours."

The mysterious young messenger departed.

The 2:30 P.M. rendezvous in the hotel was kept; but it must be confessed that the precautionary measure of asking the American Consul General to organize searching parties after 9:30 P.M. was taken.

A closed car with two drivers and the "bobby-soxer" as escort constituted the personnel for the initial part of the trip, which was completed after dark on foot, and after three cafe stops and three changes of cars and of escort, none of whom, except the last, apparently had any idea of whom they were escorting, and where he was going.

The actual conference was held in a bed-room with Commander Beigen ostensibly ill in bed, a ruse, it was later learned, to prevent any estimate of his height, just as the beard he wore was apparently donned to prevent any knowledge of his actual features.

During the conferences, two of the leader's lieutenants were presented. They were stalwart, clean-cut young men, with splendid bearing and very real dignity, who stood at attention and saluted smartly.

When it was pointed out to Commander Beigen that the violent tactics of his organization were jeopardizing current political negotiations, he replied that any such negotiations were obviously an indirect result of the bombing of the King David Hotel, which startled the world into a realization that something was wrong in Palestine. He added that the Jews would rather be killed in some sort of military action than to die a slow mental and physical death in concentration camps. Incidentally, he said that the author of this report and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver were the only two foreign representatives he had ever received.

Politically, the Irgun appears to subscribe to the proposals of the Committee, and pending action on the political proposals therein, they are equally convinced there need be no delay in admitting all the homeless Jews into Palestine. They sincerely believe they are following the pattern of other revolutionaries in history and are obviously fanatic in their determination to achieve a Jewish Democracy in Palestine. Every argument of the Committee's representative against the use of violence under the circumstances, irrespective of any possible

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attitude of the Committee to the contrary, was met with polite but definite firmness. The Commander expressed concern that innocent British soldiers should be victims of policy but emphasized that history was replete with similar tragedy, and added, "What about the six million Jews slaughtered in Europe?"

It might be added that not only the Irgun but the other Underground Movements are constituted on quasi-military lines; are apparently armed to greater or lesser degree depending on assignment; and that their discipline seems to be perfect. This point was particularly emphasized at the conference as the result of a remark that Underground tactics too often bred either immediate fascism or subsequent disregard of all law and order, even after ostensible objectives had been achieved.

Whatever else may be said about these Underground or Resistance Movements in Palestine, no one who has visited one of their chiefs or talked with any of them, or for that matter discussed the question with any of the rank and file of the population, can deny their courage and sincerity. Opinions may vary as to whether or not they are misguided patriots, but honest opinion cannot possibly deny that they are patriots.

The author of this report has no doubt whatsoever in his mind that these Resistance Movements in Palestine will never cease in their activities until the Jewish homeland in Palestine has become, through Statehood, an actual fact. And it is more than probable that, should no satisfactory solution to this problem of Statehood be found before the Spring, the three movements will combine in less overt military action.

D. Immigration

1. As has been said before in this report, and as is known everywhere, the purpose of the Balfour Declaration issued in 1917 was to create a home for the Jews. This is primarily why the League of Nations granted the Mandate over Palestine to Great Britain. As events moved from bad to worse so far as the Jews in Europe were concerned, and as the various nations themselves began to worry about the problem presented by harrassed Jewish minorities, particularly in Eastern Europe where the Great Power there was quietly active in ejecting them, the word "home" in the Balfour Declaration was rapidly translated into "homeland" in the public mind. From that to "Statehood" was an inevitable third step, for in the world as we know it today, apparently no actual homeland anywhere can be created which does not possess, at least under the United Nations, some sort of national sovereignty as a guarantee.

The whole problem came to a head when the British published their first White Paper, covering the subject. This White Paper was progressively followed by others until by 1939, with the publication of the final version, Jewish immigration was limited to a pitiful handful a month. The publication and enforcement of these White Papers rapidly nullified the whole purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration. This tragic fact is not difficult to prove, for if even temporary refugee camps, as proposed by the author of this report in the United States Congress had been provided in Palestine for the Jews fleeing Hitler's purge, we now know that hundreds of thousands of the six million exterminated might have been saved. Hundreds of them literally swam from Denmark to Sweden when that country offered them temporary refuge in the form of such camps! In the meantime, in the very homeland which they had been promised, the doors were barred by this succession of British White Papers.

2. Absorption Possibilities of Palestine

While it is the opinion of the Committee's representative that the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine

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should not necessarily be predicated on the immediate acceptance as residents of the million or more homeless Jews in Europe, for it would seem reasonable to permit the proposed State to make its own decisions thereon, it is equally the opinion of the Committee's representative that at least five or six hundred thousand of them could immediately be absorbed by Palestine without any fundamental economic disruption. In an inspection of the City of Tel-Aviv, its works, its shipyard, its hotels, cafes, suburbs, adjacent small factories, housing and general construction, it was successfully demonstrated to the author of this report that there alone nearly two hundred thousand newcomers could be housed, cared for, and employed in no time at all! There is no question that if real economic freedom were granted to any proposed Jewish State in Palestine, hundreds of thousands of immigrants could be absorbed promptly.

3. So-Called "Illegal" Immigration

On the question of "illegal" immigration the general assumption on the part of the Jewish population in Palestine is that it is not illegal under the Balfour Declaration, and that Great Britain exceeded its right under the Mandate in publishing and enforcing the terms of the White Papers which limited immigration. It is becoming increasingly obvious to the world at large and for a long time must have been obvious to the Mandatory Power that the "illegal" immigration in question is not only being promoted by the Jews within and without Palestine, but by people everywhere, in France, in Germany, in America, even in England itself. Surely the numerous ships which have left Europe for Palestine laden with immigrants who are unloaded at Cyprus, cannot be purchased, leased; run or equipped, leaky and unseaworthy though most of them seem to be, without money and active cooperation from those outside of Palestine. It is fairly reliably rumored in this connection that to date the fund raised for this "illegal" immigration is approximately thirty-eight million dollars!

It is the opinion of the Committee's representative that should a census be taken today of the Jewish population in Palestine it would be found that it is no longer the six hundred thousand presumably there but very close to a million. This, of course, could only be proven by an actual census in which the population cooperated, probably only obtainable on a promise of no reprisals and no deportation.

IV. Recommendations

A. Political

Whatever decision is taken regarding Palestine in an attempt to solve the current problem, it is bound to cause temporary trouble and it is consequently essential that it be both forthright and forceful. Even the apparent present British theory, that partition is the only way out, satisfies neither the Jews nor the Arabs, for a majority of both have come out in opposition. It would then seem healthier for the world in general, and Great Britain and the United States in particular, if, whatever the decision, it avoided unnecessary compromise, was final, and, most important of all, was made in Anglo-American agreement and cooperation. It is with these points in mind that the following political recommendations are made:

1. A Jewish State:

It is recommended that the Government of the United States invite the British Government to confer immediately in Washington on the following propositions:

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- a. The joint recognition of Palestine as an independent democracy in which shall be included politically the homeless Jews in Europe, and the boundaries of which shall be the existing boundaries of Palestine, temporarily exclusive of Trans-Jordan.
- b. The joint presentation to the United Nations of:
 - I. A request for similar recognition of such an independent democracy by, and its inclusion in, the United Nations.
 - II. A request for a United Nations Commission to arrange for, and to supervise, the calling of a Palestinian Constitutional Convention and the subsequent elections to be held thereunder, both of which shall include, as electors, the homeless Jews in Europe as Palestinian citizens.
 - III. A request that the British Mandate over Palestine be terminated on the date of assumption of power by the Palestinian Government to be elected.
 - IV. The creation of a United Nations Palestine Land Commission, which shall supervise and approve any land transfers by sale or deed as between Arab and Jewish citizens with the declared purpose of protecting the Arabs in their present land holdings in Palestine, and to insure an orderly return to the Constitutional Government of Palestine of the immense land holdings in Palestine of the Mandatory Power. Such Commission to function during the five initial years of the new State and terminate thereafter.

2. Contingent Recognition of Trans-Jordan

It is further recommended that, contingent upon the recognition by the government of Trans-Jordan and the other Arab League States of the proposed Palestinian State, the Government of the United States recognize the State of Trans-Jordan and other non-recognized members states of the Arab League, and jointly request with Great Britain their inclusion in the United Nations.

B. Financial

It is recommended that the United States Government, through its Export-Import Bank, loan to the several States of the Middle-East up to the sum of three hundred million dollars under the terms of the creation of the bank for such purposes as the bank shall approve and under certain contingent political as well as financial agreements with the States in question, having particularly in mind the use of the River Jordan for industrial power and irrigation purposes.

C. Military

That in order to protect the orderly progress of the proposed independent Palestinian State, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain jointly request the United Nations to establish an International Military Force in Palestine to relieve the present British military force there, and to

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27 FEB

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1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E 1747/100/31

FROM

Joseph Clark

No.

Baldwin

Dated

to Mr. Bevin

Received in Registry

22 Jan 1947

27 Feb 1947

Congressman Joseph Baldwin

Encloses report on survey of Palestine which is submitted to President Truman, and which has since been published.

Last Paper.

930

(Minutes.)

We have already seen Mr. Baldwin's report. See minutes on E 930.

References.

I think a reply through the Embassy would do.

(Print.)

N. American Dept.

H.B. 11/3

Private Secretary.

(How disposed of.)

Sgt. Adams
W. Jan
✓ March 12

(Action completed.)

J.P.M. 12/1

(In...)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

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JOSEPH CLARK BALDWIN
17TH DISTRICT NEW YORK

HENRY LEE MUNSON
ASSISTANT TO MR. BALDWIN

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
GERTRUDE E. PREUSSÉ
CONGRESSIONAL SECRETARY

NEW YORK OFFICE:
230 PARK AVENUE
RUTH DOYLE
SECRETARY

JOHN KELLY
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

MAXWELL SHAPIRO
COUNSEL

Enter *K* 43
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

COMMITTEES:
LABOR
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
COINAGE, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES
E 1747
27 FEB

January 22, 1947

*North American Dept
for draft reply
from S/S.*

*CMCA
S/S has not seen 13/2*

The Right Honorable Ernest Bevin
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Foreign Office
London, England

Dear Mr. Bevin:

See on E 930
Sorry to have missed you both in New York and London,
in any event here is a result of my survey which I gave to
the President last week, and which has since been published.

Hoping to have the pleasure of seeing you on my next
trip however ---- I have not forgotten the interesting time
I had when I brought my colleagues over in 1941 ---- and with
kindest regards.

Always sincerely,

Joseph Clark Baldwin
Joseph Clark Baldwin

JCB:gep
encl

Home address:
62 East 78 Street
New York 21, N.Y.

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3149 Wt. 26469/137 100m 9/46 (51) F.&S. NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No. E 1747 /100 /37

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft. letter to

Washington
Chernomy

N. American Dept.
Private Secretary
CMA
6/3

OUT FILE

10
+ 0 C 12th month 44

Dear Chernomy,

Your letter no. 15/10/47 of
January 24th, enclosing a copy
of Baldwin's report on Palestine.

Baldwin has now sent a
copy personally to the Secretary of
State. Please thank him for
this on behalf of the Secretary of
State's behalf.

Yours ever,

Eastern Dept.

H.B.
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OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

12th March, 1947.

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END

(E 1747/100/31)

. Dear Chancery,

Your letter No. 15/10/47 of 24th January, enclosing a copy of Baldwin's report on Palestine.

Baldwin has now sent a copy personally to the Secretary of State. Please thank him for this on the Secretary of State's behalf.

Yours ever,

Eastern Department.

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Washington.

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